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ABSTRACT

This bibliography features selected books, book chapters, research projects, and journal articles, published between 1953 and 1994, about the social, legal, economic, educational political, and professional position of Muslim Pakistani women. Sixteen of the references are annotated. An additional 41 bibliographic references to other materials, not annotated, are included. (LAP)

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Women, Islam, and Pakistan:

A Selective AnnotatedBibliography

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Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar Abroad Project

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Women, Islam, and Pakistan*
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Chipp, Sylvia A. 1980. "The Modern Pakistani Woman in a Muslim Society." In Chipp, Sylvia A. and Justin J. Green, editors. 1980. Asian Women in Transition. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press.

This chapter outlines the All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) which Begun Ra'ana Liaquat Ali Khan founded in 1949. The women of APWA (N=22) are described as social elites born before 1930, mostly married (none divorced; 39% arranged, another 33% semi-arranged), with less than four children, and typically educated up to the intermediate college level. Most had spent time abroad and could speak up to three languages (usually Urdu was their first language). Their employment tended to be traditional and often emphasized voluntary social work. Other occupations included teachers and writers but most were homemakers (86%). Fifty percent had held governmental positions. The author notes that AWPA women experienced generational differences from their mothers including fewer children, higher education, higher likelihood of being employed, and lessened possibility of following Purdah. None of the interviewees wore a veil, although some gave veils up upon marriage. Ninety-one percent supported women having an independent career. The author notes that Purdah is often a higher social class custom since poorer families can not afford the burqa. "On the whole, there was very little evidence among the APWA ladies of a radical feminist spirit which characterized the women's movements in the United States and Western Europe. There is little claim to equality. The Muslim woman in Pakistan is socialized to know her place" (p. 226).

French, Susan E, Derek Watters and David Ralph Matthews. 1994. "Nursing as a career choice for women in Pakistan." Journal of Advanced Nursing 19: 140-151.

This research project includes interviews with 114 Pakistani nurses, a sample from the Aga Khan University Medical Centre. Pakistan has a critical shortage of nurses, estimates range from 8000 to 16,928. This article is the first on nursing in Pakistan. Nursing is a female occupation, but remains unacceptable in many Muslim societies. There is a lack of respect for nurses and a

small number of women who apply to become nurses. Nurses are seen as behaving inappropriately because of living away from the family and possibly coming into contact with males. Despite these conditions, nursing does provide an occupational choice within a limited set of female career opportunities. Nurses, before 1992, must be single and between the ages of 15-25. The Pakistan Nursing Council (PNC) requires that students must not be married, a violation of marital norms in Pakistan (60% of all women married by the age of 24). Nurses must live in hostels. Work and training facilities are described as inadequate. Nurses were interviewed in either English or Urdu. Results suggest that most nurses were from Sindh (66%) with 24% from Punjab. Eighteen percent were Mohajir (refugees from India). 72% had never married; 75% grew up in urban areas where they were more likely to benefit from educational opportunities. They were likely to enter nursing because they had known someone in nursing (41%). Over 80% decided themselves to take up nursing, with 90% having some family support but 58% experiencing male family disapproval. Reasons for choosing nursing included professionalism (good career, medical field, secure environment) and altruism.

Goodwin, Jan. 1994. Price of Honor: Muslim women lift the veil of silence on the Islamic world. Boston: Little, Brown, and Company.

This book looks at Muslim women throughout Asia and the Middle East. Locations included are Pakistan, Afghanistan, Iran, United Arab Emirates, Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Iraq, Jordan, Israeli Occupied Territories, and Egypt. The annotation presented here looks at chapters 2: "Muslims, the first feminists" and 3: "Pakistan: one step forward two steps back".

Chapter 2: "Muslims, the first feminists" notes that Muhammad, the founder of Islam, was a reformer for women. He prohibited female infanticide, slavery, and levirate. He also gave women the right to inherit and give away property and to control their own wealth. The contemporary practice of women covering up is said to have never been an Islamic obligation. According to Goodwin, veiling was "a Persian elitist fashion to distinguish aristocracy from the common masses" (p. 30). Veiling has been used off and on. Some countries guarantee equal pay with men, yet suffer usurpation of other rights. Brides must be virgins, bride-prices are still used, and polygyny is a male right. However, Mohammad first suggested polygyny to give protection to widows and orphans, in the historical context of a war. "When Islam began fourteen hundred years ago, the women around the Prophet participated in public life, were vocal about social inequities, and often shared decision making with him" (p. 34). Additional chapter material covers the life of the Prophet. Feminist movements began in Egypt around 1900 and spread. On the agenda were women's rights in polygyny, divorce, inheritance, and child custody. Reza Shah abolished the veil in Iran in 1936 and Afghanistan did so in 1921. However,

Afghanistan reversed itself in 1959.

Chapter 3: "Pakistan: one step forward, two steps back". Goodwin begins with stories of women's abuse at the hands of male family members, police, and prison officials. The legal rights of women are discussed including cases where four Muslim adult males must testify to the act of penetration for rape to be proven. Goodwin claims that 72% of all women in Pakistan in police custody are physically and sexually abused, figures are taken from the Women's Action Forum. Seventy-five percent of the women in jail in Pakistan are there under the charge of zina (adultery). Rape said to be used as a weapon of terror against Pakistani women--for revenge, by political opponents, as a show of power, to enforce local laws, and to penalize nurses. Rapes increased after Zia instituted "Islamization" during the early 1980s. The Hudood Ordinances reduced women's rights under Zia and female government employees were required to wear a burqa. Zia later broadened the rule to include teachers and students at women's educational institutions. Purdah, which means behind four walls, was encouraged under Zia. Under Purdah, "a woman should go out only three times in her life": when she is born, when she marries, and when she is buried (p. 56). Controversy exists over Benazir Bhutto's influence on women's rights. Feminists claim she has become traditional, although her election campaign included promises to repeal discriminatory laws such as Hudood. Nawaz Sharif, who followed Benazir, worsened women's positions in Pakistan. The Shariah Law Bill passed under his administration, in May 1991, giving "religious courts the power to overrule existing laws" (p. 61). A double standard exists in Pakistan according to Goodwin, where purdah, burqas, dancing girls, and prostitution all exist. Due to diseases, including AIDS, most prostitutes die before the age of 25. In Karachi, 80% of dancing girls have AIDS. Other stories of Pakistani women are addressed including bride burning for insufficient dowries (in 1991, 2000 women under 25 were said to have died), wife abuse and murder.

The Pakistani women's movement began in 1983 with marches against Martial Law. Organizations include Women's Action Forum (formed in 1981) and War Against Rape. Daughters of Islam in Karachi works for women through Islamic rights. Goodwin ends the chapter with a quote from the Prophet "Men and women are equal as two teeth on a comb" and challenges Pakistan to study Islam for its truth on women.

Harrison, Frances. 1989. "The Position of Women in Pakistan." The Contemporary Review 28: 12-17.

Covers Hudood Ordinance of 1979 where stoning to death (hadd) was the punishment for a rapist--also for adultery. To convict a rapist or an adulterer, four male Muslim eyewitness to the act of penetration must be brought forth. Evidence given by women and Christians is not accepted for the maximum sentence although it can be allowed for a prison sentence from 4-25 years. Women can report

rape but without proof can be prosecuted for adultery. Thus, a rapist can get away with the crime while the victim can be raped and put to death for adultery. The 1984 Law of Evidence says that everything must be corroborated by two Muslim men or one man and two women. Diyat (1980 draft law, blood money) would be 30.63 kg of silver for a man but half that for a woman. However, women guilty of the same crime would receive the same punishment, not half of the punishment. The reasoning is based on the male being perceived as the sole breadwinner in his family. The Crimes Ordinance of 1984 protects women who are the targets of retaliation. Harrison states that the "emancipation of Pakistani women has been set back by the recent legislation and the political mood of 'Islamisation'" (p. 15). Harrison suggests that the women's movement needs to decide on either incorporating Western feminst ideas or adapting them to Pakistani/Islam culture and beliefs. Finally, Pakistani women often experience double oppression of class and sex. Prime minister Benazir Bhutto has not publicly raised women's issues in her campaign. "Sexual equality is little valued as an idea even by women, still less by men. Until this attitude changes there is little hope the reality will change" (p. 17).

Hezekiah, Jocelyn. 1993. "The pioneers of rural Pakistan." Health Care for Women International 14: 493-502.

A good review of how lady health visitors (LHVs) developed under the Aga Khan Health Services jointly with the Canadian International Development Agency. LHVs studied for six months in Canada, and then studied/worked in health settings in Pakistan for an additional six months. This effort was in response to the World Health Organization (WHO) which, in 1979, called for improved primary health care by the year 2000. Hezekiah notes the problematic health conditions of Pakistan where the population is primarily young with 45% under age 15. The infant mortality rate is 106 per 1000 live births with children under 5 having a mortality rate of 162 per 1000 (p. 495). The maternal death rate is 6-8 per 1000 live births. Men have a lower crude death rate than women (12:10). Significant health problems arise mostly from poverty and poor living environments. Children experience acute respiratory infections and diarrhea (the main killer of children, up to 30-45% of child deaths). The AKHSP began in Karachi in 1924 as a maternity home. Currently, there are 130 health centers. LHVs focus on health concerns of mothers and children under 5 years, providing prenatal, perinatal, and postnatal services. Services include mostly disease prevention and health promotion. Health Centers regularly schedule immunization clinics, maternal-child clinics, home visits, and health teaching. LHVs live in northern and rural areas and are typically confined to indoor living conditions due to women's roles in this society. A typical social activity is going to daily prayers. "In the foreseeable future, they will continue to be the backbone of the AKHSP and of health care services to the impoverished people of Pakistan" (p.

501).

Ibraz, Tassawar Saeed. 1992. "Cultural Perceptions and the Productive Roles of Rural Pakistani Women." The Pakistan Development Review 31: 1293-1307.

Women's agricultural and other economic contributions are not recognized because of cultural misperceptions. Women are not believed to contribute to the economy or to the family through their labor and thus remain invisible economically. Purdah has prevented studies on women's lives from taking place in some cases, resulting in a serious lack of studies on Pakistani women's lives. Culturally, female babies are perceived as liabilities whereas men are perceived as "those who are born with two hands" (p. 1295). A myth has developed that women are unproductive and are economically dependent on men. "Policy planners, decision-makers and intellectuals have persisted in reproducing an image of a woman 'with time on her hands' and whose mind is filled with 'sundry matters of scant importance" (p. 1295). The Punjab, however, is undergoing changes. Rajpur, a typical village, has seen women shoulder increasing responsibilities in agriculture and livestock. However, this has not resulted in increased familial or personal power. A table on p. 1299 is recommended which depicts various activies as exclusively or predominantly male/female. In addition to the above-named tasks, girls "are initiated into the act of embroidery, sewing and stitching, and handicrafts such as weaving cots, azarbands, parandas at an early age" (p. 1299) These items become part of her dowry. Not subscribing to these culturally defined expectations may subject the girl/woman to significant negative social sanctions.

Iqbal, Syed Anwr. 1991. "Male Migration and Changing Role of Women in Decision Making Process in Pakistan". South Asian Anthropologist 12: 25-27.

This is a fascinating anthropological study of a rural Pakistan village. In the population of 327 working males, only 55% (n=180) resided within the village. Male migration for work has necessitated that women take on additional domestic and family matters. The paper addresses household management, marriage, childrens' education, and cattle marketing. Women in such families now control household management and decide upon household purchases. Male migration has meant that women travel to a nearby city to make purchases. Parents typically arrange marriages in Pakistan; now, the wife can accept the marriage proposal although the husband must be present for the marriage. Village women arrange for children's education; women in male-migration families are more likely to educate their daughters than non-migration families. Breeding of cattle, a traditional male job, has now become part of women's roles. Women are more likely to reduce the number of cattle to look after due to increasing overall responsibilities.

Kazi, Shahnaz and Bilquees Raza. 1992. "Women, Development Planning and Government Policies." Pakistan Development Review 31: 609-620. Also, "Comments" by Sabeeha Hafeez, Ministry of Women's Development, Islamabad.

This article critiques the Women's Division, set up in 1979, and various five year plans as they pertain to women. The Sixth Five Year Plan targeted 10-15% of seats to be reserved for women in government jobs and to create special credit facilities. The Seventh Plan proposed that women's development workers would organize and plan women's activities and be employed in government institutions and NGOs. The Women's Division was created in January 1979 and became a Ministry ten years later. The Ministry of Women Development (MWD) seeks to create woman-empowering policies and laws, and to represent, research, and develop educational and employment opportunities for women. The MWD also serves as a "watchdog" of other policy-making groups. The authors contend that the MWD has been ineffective in most of their initiatives. The MWD has largely engaged in financing NGOs, sponsoring 448 projects from 1979-1989. Most projects were "small, low cost schemes" (p. 612). MWD efforts have differed throughout the provinces, but largely are described as not fulfilling the MWD mission. "A large number of such multipurpose centres which provided...training in sewing, knitting and embroidery...which are known to have a very limited demand" (p. 614-616). NGOs which serve women in Pakistan are urban and welfare-oriented. The authors note, however, that the MWD's budget share was 0.2% in the Sixth Plan and 0.3% in the Seventh Plan.

In a subsequent "comment", a MWD representative critiques the authors of this article, "Rich planning and poor implementation is the national issue. It is not unique to the sector of WID and most professionals are aware of this issue" (p. 618). Hafeez describes the budget allocations in education and health as miserly and thus diminish what can be done for women. Hafeez asks the authors to consider the causes of MWD shortcomings.

Khan, Nighat Said, Yameema Mitha, Farida Shaheed, and Samina Rehman. 1989. "Income Generation for Women: lessons from the field in Punjab Province, Pakistan." South Asia Bulletin 9: 26-46.

This is an interesting article comparing two income-generation projects for women: one in Shah Kot Village of the Punjab Province which succeeded and one in Sungli Village (also in the Punjab) which failed. Most of the article concerns the success of Shah Kot, where a female landlord created an embroidery business for village women and then turned the business over to the women. Reasons for the success included religion and caste status; Shah Kot is Shia and within the Syed caste (descendent of the Prophet, the highest caste). Women in Shah Kot typically engage in non-paid work such as spinning and tending livestock. Other occupations

such as teacher of the Quran does not have a normative pay, rather a gift is given to the teacher. Only nine other female teachers in Shah Kot are paid, up to Rs 750 per month. The biggest problem facing the women is considered to be education and literacy. Purdah has also increased as the village has moved from a predominantly agricultural economy to trade. These conditions fostered the potential for gender-segregated work to be more viable and accepted among women and within the village. The female landlord's project taught embroidery and use of the traditional handloom khaddar material, which was becoming popular across the country. The women incorporated traditional mirror-work into the embroidery on the khaddar. Initially, the work was of poor quality but improved over time under the landlord's direction. Women also began to understand and use color more appropriately. The best embroiderer became a designer, then eventually led the project. There have been outlets for their embroidery in Lahore and Islamabad.

The gender segregation of the women facilitated other social transitions. Under the female landlord's influence, the women's discussions centered on education, family planning, and equality. Women now "firmly believe in women's education and even fight with their men to send their daughters to school" (p. 31). Family planning has been less successful except among older female participants. Few became convinced of male-female equality.

Project participants are likely to be widowed or older women with diminished household tasks. Family income for 63% of the participants is under Rs 600 per month. Typical income for a project worker is between Rs 100 and 300 per month, over half control their own income. Their income is spend for household improvements (from unbaked mud homes to baked brick), jewelry purchases (for dowry), and household goods. Over 220 women have been in the 17 year old project. Related gains include village recognition of their abilities and personal social-psychological gains (personal pride, control over income/self, viewing one's work positively, interaction with other women, social support). Unfortunately, the market is currently flooded with embroidered work which has diminished as an income-generation project.

The Sungli project failed in part because of village differences, leadership problems, and misperceptions. Sungli is an agricultural community, women typically work "harder and longer hours than the men" (p. 42). Women pick cotton for up to six months of the year, earning up to Rs 1000 per season. Rice transplanting and harvesting is another female activity with transplanting paying Rs 8 daily. Women also look after livestock and poultry. The Sungli project centered on the creation of date-palm basketry. The work did not provide enough money to enable women to leave agricultural work, did not provide prestige or new skills, and did not convince women of male-female equality.

Mahmood, Tahir. 1989. "Pakistan: family law and the protection of women." Journal of Family Law 254: 578-50.

Of the 100 million people in Pakistan, 96% follow Islam. The Family Laws Ordinance of 1961 raised girls' minimum age to 16, controlled bigamy, and gave women easier opportunity to obtain support from their husbands. More orthodox Pakistanis have attacked the Family Laws Ordinance. The Dowry and Bridal Gifts Act of 1976 abolished dowry. Shariah in 1988 made Islamic religious law the "supreme source of law". Later that same year, Bhutto revised Shariah but the family section remained the same. Polygamy restrictions, divorce regulations, and women's maintenance claims persist.

Pal, Izzud-Din. 1990. "Women and Islam in Pakistan." Middle Eastern Studies.

Discusses the role of women in the Islamic Republic of Pakistan. The rule of Zia and the Shariat Bill represent challenges to women's rights efforts and raise questions about Islamic law. This paper argues that the interpretation of Quranic law must be socio-historically based. Purdah is a "complete code of conduct for Muslim woman". At puberty, women must cover herself modestly and use a veil. A burqa must be worn outside the house according to conservative interpretations of Quranic verses 24:30-31, 33:32-33, and 59. Both Hinduism and Islam influenced purdah which began in the upper classes and became an Islamic norm in 991-1031 AD by the Abbasid ruler, Qadir b'illahi. The National Impact Survey in 1968-69 indicated that 82% of women in urban areas and 47% in rural areas wore a burqa/chaddar. In 1982 a Lahore study found that 82% of urban women used burqas. In 1980 Zia required all female government workers to wear a chaddar (sheet) over their clothing. The article continues to discuss family life including marriage, interspousal relations (Quran treats men and women equally), inheritance (Quran among the first religions to acknowledge women's property rights), and recent laws. The Hadood Laws of 1979 prohibit drinking, adultery, slander and theft. Adultery (Offence of Zina=adultery, fornication, and prostitution) most directly affects women. Death by stoning, following voluntary confession or the testimony of four Muslim males, can follow. Under other types of evidence, lashes and imprisonment may follow. The law is the same for rape. The Law of Evidence of 1984 (Quran verse 2:282) equates the evidence of two women to that of one man. Finally, the author addresses the draft ordinance on Qisas and Diyat. For diyat (blood money) the compensation for female victims would be half that of males; for qisas (retaliation) two Muslim males would have to testify.

Pastner, Carrol McC. 1990. "A Social Structural and Historical Analysis of Honour, Shame, and Purdah in Baluchistan." In Ahmed, Akbar S., editor. 1990. Pakistan: the social sciences' perspective. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pastner describes the interrelationships of honor, shame, and Purdah in the province of Baluchistan focusing on the community of Panjgur (Makran District). The practice of purdah has changed over the years as intertribal and socio-economic changes have occurred. Nonetheless, honor centering on women is an important part of Baluch culture. Women's sexual behavior reflects on men; a woman's shame is her husband's and family's shame. Baluch women must cover their bodies; adultery is considered the most serious transgression which can create a blood feud. Purdah is enforced from puberty through menopause. The practice of purdah is socio-economically constrained as only the higher income families can afford to cloister and cover their women. However, Pastner notes that women do participate in the system by limiting their external activities. Purdah is a recent custom, developing throughout the tribes only after the second half of the nineteenth century. Before this time, women did not even wear the shalwar (pants). These cultural customs surrounding women's bodies is said to exist through the country. "In Pakistani cities, purdah is often used to signify status achievement by the 'lower middle class'" (p. 257).

Reber, Karin. 1993. "Women in Pakistan." Swiss Review of World Affairs, pp. 27-28 (November).

There is a diversity among Pakistani women ranging from western-educated women (upper social classes, high income families, career-oriented) to the majority of Pakistani women who live in rural areas. Eighty percent of the country is rural. Rural areas tend to socialize girls to marry as a life goal and that school is unnecessary. Fifteen percent of Pakistani women have attended school; most leave after primary school; 1% go on to a university education. Despite doing 75% of the agricultural work, women have no say in agricultural decisions. Few earn wages. Pakistani women, whether urban or rural, live in a patriarchal society. She may dress in a burqa, a garment which covers her from head to toe. She can be put to death if believed to have behaved in an inappropriate manner (seen without her burqa in some cultures such as the Pathans). Urban women usually don veils while in public, although typically do not wear burqas. The 1973 constitution under Zulfikar Bhutto prohibited sex discrimination and tried to integrate women into public life. However, the martial law of Zia reinstated conservative views. The reign of current prime minister Benazir Bhutto is still under assessment.

Rees-Mogg, William. 1989. "Pakistan and the Conviction Politics of Women in Power." The Psychologist (2-1-89).

An article describing characteristics of great women leaders. However, the article is not based on empirical research as noted in a subsequent commentary by Paula Nicolson (p. 55), "we need to ensure that the popularisation of this discourse is not permitted to remain unchallenged in the face of tangible evidence."

Weiss, Anita M. 1990. "Benazir Bhutto and the Future of Women in Pakistan." Asian Survey 30: 433-445.

Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1970s) and Ayub Khan (1960s) encouraged female literacy. The legacy of Zia and Islamization has been difficult to overcome in the short administration of Benazir Bhutto. However, Zia did (in 1979) create the Womken's Division at the cabinet secretariat level. Its activities included research, training academies, mobile dispensaries, and legal aid facilities. Zia did separate schools and colleges by sex and proposed separate universities (p. 440). In 1983 Zia created the Pakistan Commission on the Status of Women. Benazir Bhutto assumed power in 1988 following the death of Zia in a plane crash. Her Pakistani People's Party (PPP) issued a Manifesto to eliminate discrimination against women including: signing the UN Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women; supporting women's right to work in a protected setting with maternity leave; repealing discriminatory laws against women; reforming Personal Law; protecting women's modesty; promoting female literacy, and enforcing the Dowry Act. After winning office, the PPP found itself in a difficult, conflictual position where compromise became necessary and promises were not fulfilled. However, Bhutto did make some additions including giving five women (of 43) federal cabinet positions. Her mother became one of 24 ministers (albeit without a portfolio). Of 19 ministers of state, four are women (education, the women's division, special education/social welfare, and population welfare). Only elite women have entered public life and enjoyed careers. Currently, it "is widely presumed that higher levels of female literacy have an inverse effect on women's fertility" (p. 441). The Ministry for Women's Development has created four university-based women's studies programs.

Whyte, Robert Orr and Pauline Whyte. 1982. The Women of Rural Asia. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (selected pages 133-135 on Pakistan)

This brief excerpt on Pakistani women offers information on her typical day. In the Punjab, a woman will work for 14 hours daily, five of which are in "animal care, collecting, carrying and preparing fodder" (p. 133). She will spend ten hours a day in the fields during harvest season. Additional tasks include household activities. Veiling is not a custom while working in the fields

but women do not leave their neighborhoods. The authors note that women's agricultural contributions are undercounted in most studies, "in Malakand no woman has been reported as working on the farm" (p. 136), probably a reflection of a gender system which gives economic statuses to men rather than to women, regardless of workload.

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*References may not be complete due to limitations of existing library CD-Rom databases. However, what is available is provided here in the hopes of assisting the reader toward some potentially useful references.

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